

A
Genuine NARRATIVE
OF THE
Life, Behaviour, and Conduct,
OF
Simon, Lord Fraser,
OF *L O V A T,*

From his Birth at *Beaufort* near *Inverness*, in 1667,
to his Execution on *Tower-Hill*, on *Thursday,*
April 9, 1747.

CONTAINING

A vast Variety of Actions in the different Scenes of Life
in which his Lordship was engag'd; his artful Manage-
ment in procuring a Pass from the Duke of *Queensberry*,
to go into the Highlands to execute a Commission
from the Court of *France*, to stir up a Rebellion, and
the double Part he acted till he had done his Business,
and got safe back to *France*.

ALSO,

The Share he had in the Rebellion; the Manner of
forcing his Son into it.

WITH

AN EXTRACT of the LETTER, which he sent to
the Young Pretender on that Occasion.

LIKEWISE

A particular Account of his Behaviour, during his Con-
finement in the *Tower*, and on the Scaffold at the
Time of his Execution.

By *JAMES FRASER*, late of *Inverness*.

The Second Edition.

L O N D O N:

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GENUINE NARRATIVE

OF THE

Life, Behaviour, and Conduct

OF

James, Lord Evers,

OF B. O. M. T.

and his death at Kingston upon Thames, in 1637.

By J. J. J.

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and in general a full and complete History of his
and into the History of the English Revolution, and
the Court of James, to the end of his Reign, and
to double that end, and to his death, his History,
and George and to James.

Also,

The State of the English, the Manner of

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To the PUBLICK.

WHEN this Pamphlet was almost printed off, an Advertisement appears in the Daily Papers, to tell the World, that James Frazer of Craven Street, knows nothing about it, that he never compiled any Account of the Life and Behaviour of Lord Lovat, nor gave any Person any Information whatever concerning his Lordship. All which may possibly be true; and I answer, that I never had any Acquaintance with that Gentleman, but yet my own Assertion stands good, that I James Frazer, formerly of Inverness, communicated the Materials of which this Pamphlet is compiled, and I may say was very capable of so doing, being intimately acquainted with his Lordship, had a Commission of Lieutenancy in the Frazer Clan, was taken at the Battle of Culloden, and afterwards receiv'd his Majesty's Mercy; and as I was unhappily in the Rebellion against my lawful Prince, from the Time that the Clan of Frasers was raised by Lord Lovat's Order, and continued with them till

till they join'd the Rebels, I was perfectly acquainted with every Thing that was done, and with most of the different Steps his Lordship took thro' the whole Progress of the Rebellion. This is well known to a great Number of Gentlemen in the Rebel Army, who were my intimate Acquaintance, and know or have heard, that I was at Consultations that were held previous to the Invasion; that I often heard his Lordship blame his Son for Dilatoriness in joining the young Pretender, and had myself frequent Orders to go among the Clan, and to spirit up and animate the Men to go into the Rebellion, and that I accompanied the Master of Lovat, when he march'd with his Clan to join the Pretender at Perth. So that I will venture to say, No-body was more capable than myself of giving the exactest Account of every particular Part and Share which his Lordship had in the Rebellion. As to those Memoirs which I have given of the former Part of his Lordship's Life and Conduct, I collected them either from Tradition, or from the Relation of ancient Persons who have known his Lordship all his Days. And for the last Part of this Pamphlet, concerning his Lordship's Behaviour since his Confinement, I have been informed of the Particulars by some of his Attendants, and Gentlemen who were admitted to see him, and I defy any Person to say otherwise, and make it appear.



THE
L I F E
AND LAST
Dying WORDS

OF
Simon Lord Lovat, &c.



WHILST the late unnatural Rebellion subsisted, that alone drew the Attention of the whole Body of the People; and when it was happily extinguished, they were naturally desirous to know who were the first Movers, Contrivers, and principal Actors in an Affair, which from the first, might be justly suppos'd to be attended with the most fatal Consequences to all the Ringleaders of it.

As the first Scene of it was open'd at so
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great a Distance from the Metropolis of the Kingdom, the People in general could not get at the most perfect Accounts of the Enemy's Successes, but as they drew nearer to us, and penetrated to the Metropolis of *Scotland*, the whole began to be known; we had daily and faithful Accounts of all their Actions, and the People in every Part of the Nation betook themselves to Arms, and were ready to March at an Hour's Notice, for the Defence of their rightful Sovereign, (who had governed the Nation with Justice and Equity for eighteen Years before) their own Families, and Possessions. But as it is the Life of *Simon Fraser*, Lord *Lovat*, we are going to lay before the Publick, who was one of the main Springs and Abettors in the Rebellion; and who was taken and brought to the *Tower* some Months since for the same; and who upon a full Conviction, received Sentence of Death for Crimes strongly proved against him; we shall confine ourselves principally to him, tho' divers other Persons must be mentioned in the Course of the Work. During his Confinement in the *Tower*, the Enemies of the Government were not idle, their Emissaries were very busy every where, at Coffee-houses and Places of publick Resort, as well as in private Conversation, in arraigning the Justice or Policy of the Legislature, for making an Example of such a feeble old Man as Lord *Lovat*, whose great Age and many Imbecilities consequent thereupon, render'd him utterly incapable, they insinuated, of influencing or propagating
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a Rebellion ; and that if from any Weakness of his Intellects, the Prevalence of Passion, or other Infirmities incident to old Age, his Judgment was bias'd to take Part against his Country ; yet the eminent Services, they said, he formerly did the Government, on a like Occasion, when he was in the full Vigour of his Manhood and Understanding, ought to plead for him now, and excuse the Errors of his *second Childhood*. Others there were who seem'd to laugh at the utmost Efforts of the Administration in attempting to put a Hook into the Jaws of this great Leviathan, who, they did not question, wou'd be a Match for his most potent Adversaries, and had Cunning enough to baffle them all at their own Weapons. Others pretended, that the Government durst not proceed with Rigour against him, since he had the Heads of a Number of great Men in his Pocket, as they phras'd it ; and that such Discoveries wou'd be made upon his Trial, as wou'd again set the Nation in a Flame. How far these Notions have been verified, is already pretty well known.

But previous to this Account of his Lordship it may be proper to take a succinct View of the Rebellion itself, at least so far as relates to the Part it has been now prov'd Lord *Lovat* had in it. It will be quite unnecessary to give a Detail of the innumerable Evils and Mischiefs produc'd by it ; they have been seen and felt by every Subject in the Kingdom, in a greater or less Degree : Yet few, I believe, are acquainted

with the Springs that gave Rise to the late unnatural Commotions. Perhaps I may be singular in my Opinion, when I affirm, that it was not altogether an Attachment to the Person or Cause of the Pretender, that engag'd many of the Chiefs of the Clans in Arms against their lawful Sovereign: For it came out upon his Trial, that he did not lift himself in the Interest of the Chevalier from any Disaffection he had conceiv'd against his present Majesty, whom he allow'd to be possess'd of many princely Virtues, and whom he esteem'd for his mild and legal Government: But that the Administration, some Years ago, having broke his Company of Highlanders, without any Cause or Provocation by him given, his Spirit cou'd by no Means brook such Usage; and therefore, to be reveng'd on those who had mortified him in this Manner, he, too inconsiderately, join'd in those treasonable Schemes, which at length, were the Ruin of himself as well as a great Injury to his Country. Others of these unhappy Noblemen, were as it were, driven into this Rebellion by pure Necessity. Several of them were born to handsome Fortunes, which, by Extravagance and high Living, they had thoughtlessly consum'd; and being no longer able to maintain the Port of their former Grandeur, they thought to better their Circumstances by taking Commissions under the Pretender. Others again, being disgusted that they were not promoted by the Government according to their own fancied Merit, too readily

readily embrac'd those Offers of Preferment that were made them by the profess'd Enemies of their Religion and Liberties.

It is thus and thus only we can account for the absurd and inconsistent Behaviour of those Protestant Gentlemen who took part in this Rebellion. It plainly appear'd, from their whole Conduct from first to last, that Resentment and Avarice were the two Idols they worshipp'd, and to these they sacrificed their own Loyalty and Allegiance, as well as the Religion, Liberties, and Prosperity of their Country. If these were not their Motives, and the Principles by which they govern'd their Actions, what others can we suppose strong enough to induce Gentlemen to join in an Attempt to advance a Popish Pretender to the Throne; the Consequence of which, had it succeeded, wou'd have been, they well knew, the utter Abolition of the Protestant Religion and Liberty, and the absolute Establishment of Popery and Tyranny among us; which wou'd have been attended with Slavery in its worst of Shapes, and Persecution with all its flaming Concomitants? Good God! that Men, that Christians, that Protestants, that *Britons*, should be so infatuated, as to prefer the Gratification of some private Passion, to the Happiness and Prosperity of a great Kingdom! That they should so little consider the vast Expence of Toils, Blood and Treasure which their Fore-fathers were at, in securing to their Posterity, the best Religion, and the best Government in the whole World; that

that they should, I say, have so little Consideration of the glorious Privileges of an *Englishman*, as to be willing to barter them, for the servile and ignoble Condition of the Subjects under a Popish Government! You will excuse my Warmth upon this important Occasion; my Heart glows with Love for my Country; and my Resentment rises in Proportion against those execrable Instruments of its intended Destruction. It is my Boast, and my Glory that I am an *Englishman*; Freedom is my Birthright, and the purest Religion my Inheritance; both which my Ancestors dearly purchas'd, and took the utmost Care to transmit to me uncorrupt and unfullied, and which I am resolv'd to maintain, and deliver to my Posterity, whole and entire as I receiv'd them, or perish with them. And indeed, it seems very strange to me, that every true *Briton* has not the same Sentiments. But why is it? even because we enjoy such a Plenitude of Happiness under the mildest Administration, that we grow wanton with our Fulness, and seem to want a Change in Affairs only for the Sake of Variety; not considering the dreadful Reverse from Liberty to Slavery, from enjoying the Fruits of our own Labours in what Manner we pleas'd, to have our Persons and Estates at the absolute Disposal of a tyrannical Prince and his voracious Ministers; and instead of the Liberty of judging for ourselves in Matter of Faith, to be pinn'd down to the Religion of the Priest, or suffer the most cruel Usage.

As to Lord *Lovat*, it is generally said he was a shrewd cunning Man; and indeed, if a long and various Experience of the World, a Variety of Fortune, and an Acquaintance with different Sorts of People, will make a Man wise, he cannot be destitute of any Knowledge that may be acquired by such Means; but I do assure you, in my Opinion, and in the Opinion of all that I have conversed with, that heard his Trial, I really think he may be said to have acted as openly and as weakly in the Rebellion as any Man could do; only in some Circumstances there appeared some low designing Cunning; but for that I shall leave to your own Judgment, after you have read this Account.

On the Death of his Father he found himself possessed of a very small Inheritance, the Bulk of the Estate, together with the Title, being settled on the Female Branch of the Family, by *Hugh* the great Uncle of the present *Simon* Lord *Lovat*, who, at his Death, leaving only a Daughter, he limited the Succession to his Estate and Honour, to her and her Issue Male. So that our *Simon* soon perceived, that he must raise himself by the Dint of his own Merit, if he intended to make any Figure in Life. Accordingly, on perusing the History of his Ancestors, and observing that many of them had acquired immortal Glory by addicting themselves to Arms, he judged that to be the readiest Way to raise his Fame and Fortune; and by the Interest of some of the Family of *Athol*, he got a Company in the Lord *Tullibardine's* Regiment,

Regiment, where he served as Captain for some Time : But happening to have some Dispute with the Marquis of *Atbol*, in relation to the Right of Inheritance to the Honours and Estate of the Family of *Lovat*, which the Marquis would have had him made a formal Resignation of, in Favour of the Heiress at Law, according to the Settlement above-mentioned, in Consideration of some Preferment which the Marquis promised to procure him in the Army ; the Captain (for then he was only Captain *Fraser*) absolutely rejected the Terms, and threw up his Commission. This however did not discourage the Captain from asserting his Pretensions to the Honours and Estate of *Lovat* ; but being sensible that he was too weak to contend with such powerful Adversaries as he had to deal with, he begun to form Schemes to accomplish his Ends, by a much safer Way than by Law ; which was, by making his Addresses to the young Lady, who was presumptive Heiress to the *Lovat* Estate, her Mother being then living ; and had, by his artful Management, made such an Impression on her Affections, that she had actually promised her Consent to marry him, and the Day was appointed for the Solemnization ; but the Person who was entrusted with the Management of the Affair, betray'd them both in the very Instant of Time it should have been concluded. The Marquis of *Atbol*, being inform'd of the whole Transaction, took her under his own Protection, and soon concluded a Match for her with the young Master of *Saltoun* ; of which the Captain having

ing got Intelligence, and resolving, if possible, to disconcert their Measures, got together a Company of Highlanders, and posted them in a Wood thro' which the Earl of *Saltoun* and his Son, with their Retinue, were to pass, in their Way to the Marquis of *Atbol's*, where the Marriage was to be consummated: But the Captain, with his Company, meeting them in the said Wood, disarm'd, and took Prisoners, the Earl, and all his Retinue, and carried them to *Castledounie*, the Seat of the Lady Dowager of *Lovat*, the intended Bride's Mother. Here the Captain extorted an Obligation from the Lord *Saltoun* and his Son, under their Hands and Seals, to desist from, and disclaim all their Pretensions to the Heiress of *Lovat*, and so dismiss'd them. But the Captain finding it impracticable to marry the young Lady, thought it would answer his Purpose as well, if he could make up a Match with her Mother. But he no sooner open'd his Mind to her, and offer'd himself in quality of a Suitor, but she gave him a flat Denial, urging many solid Reasons for her Refusal. The Captain, however, being resolv'd to have her at all Events, told her in plain Terms, that her Refusal was of no Signification, for he was determin'd to have her, either with, or against her Consent; and perceiving she still persisted in her Refusal, he call'd in his Myrmidons, with a Parson at their Head. The Parson was order'd to perform the Ceremony, and the Captain went through his Part of it; but when it came to the Lady's Turn to answer, she remain'd silent, and could

by no Means be prevail'd upon to perform her Part. The Captain, however, declar'd that the Marriage was legal, and desir'd the Lady to go to Bed ; which she obstinately refusing, he order'd his Men to undress her, and put her to Bed ; which they did, and were Witnessees to his first Act of Consummation.

The Marquis of *Athol* was soon inform'd of this notorious Outrage, which the Captain had committed upon the Lady Dowager of *Levat*, and boiling with Rage and Vengeance, threatens utter Destruction to the Perpetrator of so flagrant a Villainy ; and it was not long before he got the Captain intercommuned, and in Virtue of that, Letters of Fire and Sword were issued out against him. This rigorous Proceeding oblig'd the Captain to leave his Lady, and to retire into the remotest Part of the Highlands. But finding himself pursu'd every where, and that *Scotland* could not afford him a Place of Safety, he quits the Country, and goes to *France*, and lifts himself in the Service of the Pretender, whose Cause and Interest he now resolves to promote to the utmost of his Power, as the best Method to recommend himself to Preferment in the Court of *St. Germain's*.

But perhaps, this will be thought too great a Digression from my main Design, which is to give you a just Account of this memorable Man, both before and since the Trial which has lately pass'd upon his Lordship, the Issue of which was, a Conviction of High Treason by his Peers. However, I will beg your Patience only for a few Minutes, before I proceed, that I may give you

you some particular Facts relating to his Life, and which were, in a great Measure, travers'd over either by the Council or the Witnesses.

It will be necessary therefore to go back as far as the Year 1701, when we left him as Captain *Frazer*, just arriv'd at the Court of *St. Germains*, where King *James* then resided. Here, to ingratiate himself with the great Men of the Court, he boasted that he was the Chief of a very numerous and powerful Clan among the Highlands, all of whom were under his Influence, and devoted to his Service, and wou'd, upon the first Summons, engage in a Fight for that Cause which he should espouse. King *James* II, however, was too well acquainted with his Character, ever to admit him into his Councils, or even to come into his Presence. The Captain, however, being a most artful Hypocrite, and of an insinuating Behaviour, soon got into the Confidence of that King's Ministers.

The Captain, when he left *Scotland*, profess'd the Protestant Religion; but being at *St. Germains*, he soon perceiv'd that he cou'd expect no Preferment, unless he was of the Religion of the Court, and therefore, by Means of the Pope's Nuncio, he reconcil'd himself to the Church of *Rome*; though fourteen Years afterwards, when he return'd to *Scotland*, and assisted in quelling the Rebellion there, rais'd by the Jacobites and the Disaffected, he abjur'd the Pretender, took the Oaths to be faithful to King *George*, and became once more a Member of the Kirk of *Scotland*; notwithstanding

which, he has almost ever since acted for and in the Cause of Popery, and the Pretender which he so abjur'd. Which gave Occasion to the Lord High Steward, in the Speech which he made upon passing Sentence on his Lordship, to say, That he was at a Loss whether to apply to him as a Protestant or a Papist. His open Profession, his solemn Oaths, and publick Actions, spoke on one Side: But, if he was to believe the Evidence, his private Discourse and Declaration, testified on the other.

But tho' King *James* would have nothing to do with the Captain, yet by the Interest of the Nuncio, he was introduced to the *French* Court, and to the Notice of the Marquis *de Torcy*, Prime Minister to *Lewis XIV.* Here he manag'd his Affairs so well, and conform'd his Behaviour so exactly to the Taste and Manners of the *French*, that he was look'd upon as a Man of no small Consequence at the Court of *Versailles*.

In the latter End of the Year 1701, King *James II.* died. Upon his Death, great Animosities, and Divisions arose among the great Men who had the Direction of Affairs during his Life-time, each of them claiming a Right of Precedence in their Councils, which were therefore very much distracted and confused; some advising one Thing, some another, but cou'd determine on Nothing, because there wanted Unanimity in their Opinions. This Division in their Councils continued for some Time; however, they were unanimous in this,

this, that their young Master, the Pretender, ought to be restored to the Throne of his Father, but differ'd as to the Measures to be taken for this End. After various Consultations upon this Head, it was at length resolved, that the first Thing to be done was, to make an Invasion upon *Scotland*; to facilitate which, it was necessary to foment an Insurrection in the Highlands. This being agreed upon, the next Thing to be considered was, a proper Person, able and well qualified, to be sent to the Chiefs of the Highlands in order to spirit them up with large Promises from the *French* Court, to join the Invasion which was intended to be made with all Expedition on the Northern Parts of that Kingdom. Several Persons were proposed and recommended upon this Occasion, but none was thought so capable as Captain *Frazer*.

The Captain being thus pitch'd upon for the Management of this Affair, it was judged necessary, in order to procure him the greater Credit among the Highlanders, to give him a Major General's Commission, which enabled him to raise Forces, appoint Officers, and to do whatever he thought requisite for the promoting his Master's Interest. Besides which, he was furnish'd with sufficient Powers and Credentials to treat with the Highland Chiefs, and others of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* who were in the *Stuart* Interest; and to concert with them the Measures that were to be taken to favour a Descent on the Western or Northern Party of the Kingdom. And
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in order to add the greater Weight to his Negotiations, he was furnished with a good round Sum of Money ; besides which, he carried with him a large Quantity of Arms and Ammunition, to be distributed among the Friends to the Cause.

The *French* Court having thus furnished Captain *Frazer* with sufficient Instructions and Credentials for his Embassy, he set out for *Dunkirk*, where he embark'd on board a Vessel which carried him directly to *Scotland*, where he landed in the Year 1707. But it must be observed, by the Way, that both the Court at *Versailles*, as well as that of *St. Germain*s, were too well acquainted with the Captain's Character to rely wholly upon his Integrity in the Management of this Affair ; and therefore, under the plausible Pretence of augmenting the Grandeur of his Retinue, they increased his Company with two Gentlemen, but who in Reality, were designed to be Spies upon his Actions, to observe his Conduct, and to take particular Notice in what Manner he executed the Commission with which he was charged.

The Captain, on his Arrival in the Highlands of *Scotland*, summon'd the Chiefs of the Clans together, open'd his Commission to them, and expatiated very largely upon the Subject of it ; that his most Christian Majesty was then making vast Preparations and Armaments with a View to recover for his Nephew, the Chevalier, the Crown of *Great Britain* ; which Armaments were designed for the Coast
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of *Scotland* ; and hoped he should meet with the Concurrence and Assistance of the *Scottish* Nobility in promoting so generous a Design.

On this Occasion the Captain understood the Value of a good Character, from the want of it. His former Exploits, his Rape on the Lady Dowager of *Lovat*, and his herding for three or four Years with the Banditti Highlanders, with whom he joined in their Excursions when they went out upon Plunder ; these Transactions, I say, being still recent in the Memory of these Chiefs, their Prejudices against him would not suffer the Offers and Declarations he made, to make any Impression upon them. And altho' he was invested with unquestionable Authority from the *French* King, and had all the Powers and Credentials requisite, given him by the Pretender to treat with them, yet scarce any of them, tho' they heard his Proposals, would condescend to enter into any Consultation with him, or even to keep him Company. At the same Time his old Enemies in the North renew'd their Clamours against him, proclaim'd aloud his former Crimes, for which they said, he had been outlaw'd and intercommuned, and therefore he was, by no Means, a proper Person to treat with upon such an important Affair ; that he had certainly obtained his Commission surreptitiously, or, if it was genuine, the Courts of *France* and *St. Germain*s were unacquainted with his infamous Actions ; for if they had known his Character, they wou'd never have trusted

trusted him with an Affair of such Consequence. Thus the People being prepossessed against him, paid but little Regard to what he offer'd, and his Endeavours to serve his young Master were render'd ineffectual; which he was soon so sensible of, that he made no long Stay in the Country, but set out for *London*.

The *English* Ministry had by this Time got some Intimation of the Plot that was then on Foot in *Scotland*, for the Subversion of the Government and bringing in the Pretender, but could not presently come at the Bottom of it. The Tories charged it upon the Whigs, and the Whigs upon the Tories. The Duke of *Athol*, who was of the Tory Party, perceiving himself struck at, bestirred himself very much; and in order to clear himself from the Imputation of Disloyalty or treasonable Practices of which he had been accused, charg'd the Duke of *Queensbury*, who was reputed a Whig, 1st, That he had a Meeting with Capt. *Frazer* in *Scotland*, and had imploy'd him to that very Purpose, and for his Aid and Encouragement in pursuing it, had advanced him 200 Guineas, altho' by the Laws of *Scotland* it was Treason so much as to converse with him, as he had been convicted of Capital Offences, for which he had fled from his Country, and was become an Outlaw. 2^{dly}, That he had given his Protection, and granted his Pass to a Man who was a known Rebel, and was come to *Scotland* on Purpose to spirit up an Insurrection among her Majesty's

jesty's Subjects. 3dly, That he had privately sent Capt. *Frazer* and three other Persons into *France*, tho' it was well known, that Capt. *Frazer* was employ'd as an Agent by the *French* King to facilitate the Invasion intended against *Scotland*. The principal Evidence to support this Charge was one *Ferguson*; who being examined by the House of Lords, they voted his Evidence false and scandalous, and sent him to *Newgate*.

Sir *John M^cLean* being examin'd by the House of Lords about the same Affair, confess'd, that in *July* 1702, he was at the Court of *St. Germain's*, and introduced Capt. *Frazer* to the Queen of the late King *James*; that he heard the Captain tell her Majesty, that the Heads of the Clans in *Scotland* were ready to rise in Favour of the Prince her Son, and would bring 10,000 Men into the Field; that the King was immediately made acquainted with the Captain's Information, and that his Majesty promis'd to assist them with Men, Money and Arms; but, in the first Place, judged it highly necessary, that Captain *Frazer* should go to *Scotland*, and inform himself exactly of the Inclinations of the People; what Numbers they could really raise to join the Army which he intended to send to their Assistance, with Orders that he should return to *France* soon after the *British* Parliament broke up.

The Duke of *Queensberry* declared, in his Defence, that his Knowledge of Capt. *Frazer* was merely accidental; that the Captain was

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brought to him by the Duke of *Argyle*, who desired a Pass for him to carry him into the Highlands, which he accordingly gave him; that when the Captain returned from the Highlands, he informed him of those Things which, in Substance, had been declared by Sir *John M'Lean*, and had acquainted the Queen with it, but had not discovered the Captain's Name, having given his solemn Promise not to do it; that Captain *Frazer* was, indeed gone to *France*, but had laid himself under a strict Engagement to send him a particular Account of all the Schemes and Designs which the *French* might undertake against *Scotland*, and had promised to return to *England*, so soon as he could make himself Master of their Projects, or whenever his Grace should send for him.

Now if what the Duke of *Queensberry* alledg'd in his Defence be true, the Captain play'd the Ambo-dexter, and was either a Whig, a Tory, or a Jacobite, as best suited his Purpose. His Grace allow'd, that he granted him a Pass into the Highlands, and another to return to *France*, which assuredly he wou'd not have done, especially after he knew what Errand he was come upon, but upon some special Conditions; and what those were are particularly specified in his Grace's Defence. It naturally follows, that the Captain was guilty of a notorious Breach of Trust, both to his young Master the Pretender, and the *French* King. And that they had this Opinion of him, seems manifest from the
rough

rough Treatment the Captain met with on his Return to *Paris*. For, tho' he gave very plausible Reasons for the ill Success of his Embassy, and such as seem'd to satisfy the *French* Ministry, yet it was not long before they had an Opportunity of demonstrating the Captain's Insincerity; which was by means of some intercepted Letters, which discover'd that he actually held a Correspondence with some of the *British* Ministry: Upon which he was taken up by a *Lettre de Cachette*, and committed to the *Bastile*. How long he continued a Prisoner there is uncertain; but on recovering his Liberty, it's said, he went into Holy Orders, by the Favour of the Pope's Nuncio: However that be, we are pretty well assured, that he spent his Time chiefly among the *French* Clergy, the *Fathers of the Oratory*, and the *Jesuits*. He continued among them till the Year 1714, when understanding that there were some Projects a-foot in Favour of the Pretender, and that the *French* were making great Preparations to invade *Scotland* with a powerful Force, he thought it a lucky *Crisis* for him to push his own Fortune. But as this was an Affair of the utmost Consequence, on which depended the future Felicity of his Life, it behov'd him to act with the utmost Caution. Principle and Party were Things the least to be thought on; his Business was to mend his Fortune, and recover his Estate and Honours in *Scotland*, of which he had been long depriv'd; whether King *George*, or the Pretender, had the best right to the Crown, gave him

him no Trouble; the principal Object of his Consultation was, whether the First was strong enough to keep what he was possess'd of, or the other to wrest it from him. But as he cou'd form no tolerable Judgment of the Strength of either Party at so great a Distance from the Scene of Action, he judg'd it most expedient to come over to *England*, where he wou'd undoubtedly have the best Opportunities of informing his Judgment, as to the Side it wou'd be his Interest to take.

Lord *Lovat*, on the fifth of *November*, 1715, arrived at *Culloden House* near *Inverness*, from whence his Lordship wrote to the Gentlemen of his Name that were well-affected to the Government, to come and receive him as their Chief: Mr. *Ross* of *Kelravock* and Mr. *Forbes* of *Culloden*, to prevent his falling into the Hands of the Rebels, conducted him by *Inverness* to the Frontiers of his own Country: His Lordship soon got his Clan together, and hearing that a Body of the *M'Intoshes* were going to reinforce Sir *John M'Kenzie* who commanded the Garrison at *Inverness*, he marched with some others of the well-affected Gentlemen into that Country, in order to intercept them, and prevent their joining the Rebel Garrison: The *M'Intoshes* hearing of this, sent their principal Gentlemen to treat with his Lordship: They agreed to disperse and deliver up their Arms, and the Gentlemen became bound for the Peace in their Country: In the mean Time his Lordship having Intelligence that *Keppoch*, with a considerable

siderable Body of Men, were in full March to *Inverness*, he posted himself between *Keppoch's* Men and the Garrison. Sir *John* and *Keppoch* resolved to put his Lordship between two Fires, and attack him on each Side; but *Keppoch*, intimidated at his Lordship's Firmness and Resolution, thought proper to retreat through the Country of the *Grants* of *Urquhart*, where, after committing great Outrages, he and his Men dispersed, and returned home. His Lordship thereupon march'd strait to *Inverness*, and placed himself on the West-side of the Town, after having sent a Party to guard that Side of the *Firth*, in order to prevent any Supply of Provisions or warlike Stores from coming to the Garrison: *Forbes* of *Culloden*, with his Men, lay to the East, and the *Grants*, being 800, to the South-side of the Town: Sir *John* finding himself thus surrounded, and in Danger of being starved or taken, and understanding that the well-affected Clans were ready to invest the Place, took the Advantage of a Spring Tide that came up to the Town, and made the River navigable, quitted the Town and Castle, and retired in Boats on the 10th of *November* to the *Ross* Side: Lord *Lovat* took immediate Possession thereof, and acquainted the Earl of *Sutherland*, who was then in *Sutherland*, of their Success: The Earl wrote his Lordship a very obliging Letter thereupon, expressing his Satisfaction that his Lordship had by his Loyalty and Zeal, in Defence of the Government, entitled himself to his Majesty's Favour, and assuring his

Lordship

Lordship that he would truly represent his Services upon that Occasion.

The Earl of *Sutherland* came to *Inverness* the 13th of *November*, when he received the joyful News of the Defeat of the Rebels at *Dumb'ain*, and leaving a sufficient Garrison at *Inverness*, marched with Lord *Lovat* to *Seafort's* Country; where they obliged the Gentlemen then at home to give Security for the peaceable Behaviour of their People, and to return the Arms that had been taken from the *Monroes*; they left a Number of their Men in the Castle of *Braban*, and marched to *Murray* and *Strathspey*, where they subjected the Country to the King's Obedience. The Earl of *Seafort* in the mean Time gathered together the scatter'd Remains of his Men, after the Battle of *Dumblain*, and lay with them near *Braban*; the Earl of *Sutherland*, with Lord *Lovat* and others, marched against him, resolving to give him Battle; but the Earl of *Seafort*, upon their Approach, proposed Terms of Accommodation: Upon a Promise of a Pardon he agreed to disperse his Men, own the King's Authority, and deliver up his Arms, and thereupon Hostilities ceas'd. His Majesty immediately gave the Earl of *Seafort* to understand, that upon his performing his Agreement, and behaving peaceably for the Future, he might expect the royal Clemency: But upon the Arrival of the Pretender in *Scotland*, the Earl flattering himself that their Affairs might take a favourable Turn, delay'd to perform the Conditions he had

had submitted to, and therefore forfeited any Title to his Majesty's Pardon ; soon after these Transactions the Rebellion was totally extinguished by the Retreat and Dispersion of the Rebel Army.

After the Rebellion was entirely extinguish'd, his Lordship's Friends magnify'd his Loyalty, and the signal Services he had perform'd for his King and Country, and took Care that the Ministry should be inform'd of every Circumstance that might enhance his Merit ; so that when he came to petition his Majesty for Pardon for his former Crimes and Offences, he obtain'd it with very little Difficulty.

In the mean Time *Frazerdale* (of whom Mention has been before made in the Course of this History) was attainted of High Treason, whereby his Interest and Estate for Life in the Lands and Barony of *Lovat* became forfeited, and were escheated to the Crown. Whereupon Application was made to his late Majesty in Behalf of his Lordship, setting forth his Right and Claim to that Estate, with all its Honours and Appendages. His Majesty, ever ready to reward his faithful Servants, was graciously pleas'd to make him a free Gift of *Frazerdale's Life-rent Escheat* ; in Right of which his Lordship immediately took Possession of the Estate, and enter'd his Claim to the Honours and Dignity appendant thereto.

Having thus got Possession of his Honours and Estate, his next Business was, to establish his Right to both by due Course of Law. In order to which, he consider'd what Kind of
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Adversaries he had to deal with. The first Thing he had to do, was, to defeat and set aside the Claim of *Hugh Frazer*, eldest Son of *Frazerdale*, who, as Heir at Law of the last *Hugh Lord Lovat*, claimed the Honours and Title of Lord *Lovat* after his Father's Decease, and by Virtue of Settlements, and other legal or colourable Titles, pretended a Right to the Estate. The other Persons he had to deal with, were several Creditors for Debts and Dues chargeable on the Estate. These, by Advice of Council, brought their Actions in the Court of Sessions against his Lordship, in order to obtain Satisfaction for their said Debts; and the Cause being heard, the Court gave Sentence in Favour of the Plaintiffs. However his Lordship, not satisfy'd with this Decree, made his Appeal to the House of Lords, who, after a fair and equitable Hearing, revers'd that Decree; since, if the Plaintiffs were allow'd their Demands, it would absolutely defeat the Advantage intended by the Gift of the Crown. By this Judgment of their Lordships, Lord *Lovat* was to have the free and uninterrupted Enjoyment of the Estate during the Life of *Frazerdale*, clear of all Incumbrances. His Lordship having met with such good Success, did not rest here, but brought his Action in the Court of Sessions, against *Hugh Frazer*, who pretended to the Honours of *Lovat*, to establish his Right of Peerage; and in this also he succeeded. Being thus in full Possession of the Title and Honours of his noble Ancestors, his next Attempt was, to recover the Fee or Remainder

mainder of the Estate after the Demise of *Fraferdale*. To this End he commenc'd a Suit against the said *Hugh Frafer*, and after a tedious and expensive Litigation, in which his Adversaries were quite tired out, and not able to support the Expence any longer, at length the Parties on both Sides agreed to enter into Bonds of Arbitration, and leave the Matters in Dispute to the Decision of impartial and indifferent Men. The Arbitrators having weigh'd and discuss'd the different Claims and Pretensions of the Parties, made their Award; which was, that the said *Hugh Frafer*, in Consideration of a considerable Sum of Money to be paid him by the Lord *Lovat*, should, as well for himself, his Heirs, and all other Claimants under him, assign, convey, and make over to his Lordship, all his and their Right, Title, Interest, Claim, and Demand to the Honour and Estate of *Lovat*. In Consequence of which Award, Deeds were immediately drawn and executed, and the Securities requir'd given, to assure and confirm to his Lordship his Right and Title to the Estate he had been suing for. Thus this tedious Suit, which had been in Litigation for twelve or fourteen Years, was, in the Year 1732, brought to a final Conclusion.

We must now take a Step back again to the Year 1717, when we shall find his Lordship (having obtain'd his Pardon, and restor'd to the King's Favour) making his first publick and triumphant Appearance at *Edinburgh*. If we look back, we shall find his Lordship (then Capt. *Frafer*) engaged in a Rencounter with

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the Lord *Salton* and Lord *Mungo Murray*, and seizing and disarming the latter with Threats and Violence, which at that Time he was obliged to Submit; but swore and solemnly vow'd, that if ever he should meet with the Captain afterwards, upon equal Terms, he would amply revenge the Insult that was then offered to him. It happen'd that the Lord *Murray* was at this Time at *Edinburgh*; and walking the high Street one Day, he saw Lord *Lovat* coming towards him; and drawing his Sword, made towards him as fast as he could. Lord *Lovat*, it seems was near sighted, and did not observe him coming; but a Gentleman who was walking with him perceiving the Danger he was in, apprized him of it; upon which his Lordship likewise drew, and stood upon his Defence. Lord *Murray* seeing his Adversary in a Posture to receive him, thought proper to decline the Engagement, and wheel'd about in order to retreat. The People seeing their Swords drawn, presently crouded about them, which somewhat retarded his Retreat; which Lord *Lovat* perceiving, cry'd out to the People, *Pray, Gentlemen, make Way for Lord Mungo Murray*. Lord *Murray* accordingly marched off, and retired to a Place of Safety, and so the Affair ended without Bloodshed.

In the same Year 1717, his Lordship made his Addressee to, and married a Daughter of the Laird of *Grant*, Sister to the present Sir *Grant*, Bart. the Head or Chief of a numerous and powerful Clan, intending thereby

thereby to strengthen his Power and Interest among the Highlanders; of which Marriage he had Issue two Sons and two Daughters now living. Not long after the Birth of her last Child this Lady dy'd, and his Lordship married a young Lady of fine Accomplishments, and nearly related to the noble Family of *Argyle*, who brought him a Son named *Archibald*. But such was his cruel and barbarous Usage of this Lady, that being no longer able to bear his harsh and severe Treatment, she was obliged to acquaint her Friends with it, who interpos'd so powerfully in the Affair, that his Lordship was forc'd to consent to a Separation; whereby his Hopes of uniting himself firmly by this Alliance to that great Family, were entirely frustrated, and himself render'd the Object of their Hatred and Contempt.

In the Year 1720, for ever memorable for the South-Sea Scheme, when our Merchants chiefest Traffick was in *Change-Alley*, our Tradesmen left their Bills unpaid to go a bubbling, and our Noblemen turn'd Stock-jobbers: This my Lord *Lovat* thought a propitious Opportunity to make some Addition to his Fortune. To this End he gather'd in his Rents as fast as he could, and by that Means rais'd a considerable Sum of Money; with which he intended to go to the common Market, where Noblemen and Citizens, City Knights, Country Squires, Bites, Sharpers, Fools and Knaves, were all blended together in a Group of Figures, which by a Cast of

Mr. *Hogarth's* Art, would have made a pretty grotesque Picture. His Lordship herded among them for some Time, before he offer'd to deal with them, in order to observe their Method of Trade and Management. He soon perceiv'd that the Foundation of all this mighty Bustle was merely chimerical; and that very possibly he might be bit himself in endeavouring to bite others; for he rightly judg'd, that the Whole was a Bite and a Cheat, contrived by some of the knowing Ones to raise Estates out of the Ruins of the Publick. This he revolv'd in his Thoughts for some Time; till at length he was convinc'd that the surest Way to traffick safely was, to make One with those who were in the Secret. He consider'd too, that Mr. *Knight*, who was the Cashier of the South-Sea Company, was the most proper Person he could apply to on this Occasion. He soon made himself acquainted with that Gentleman; and after several Consultations, he lodg'd a considerable Sum in Mr. *Knight's* Hands, which some will tell you, amounted to four or five thousand Pounds. Mr. *Knight* was to buy and sell, and transact the whole Affair, for which he was to be allow'd a Fourth of the Profits, and to account once a Week to his Lordship: For the first Fortnight or three Weeks Matters went on swimmingly; and Mr. *Knight* made it appear that he had in that Time got two thousand Pounds clear, and advis'd his Lordship not to pocket it, but to lay it all out in buying more Stock. This his Lordship agreed to,

to, and in a little Time he doubled and trebled his Principal. His Lordship was now in high Spirits, and firmly perswaded of being immensely rich in a very short Time. But no Joy, no Happiness in this World is permanent! The Scheme was strain'd to the very highest Pitch, and Stock was raised to near a Thousand *per Cent.* when all of a sudden it fell to nothing; there were no Buyers, and consequently the Sellers had no Market; the Directors and others who were in the Secret, having well fledg'd their Nests, retir'd, Mr. *Knight* absconded, and in short, my Lord *Lovat* was left in the Lurch. However, as the Stock which Mr. *Knight* had purchas'd, was in his Lordship's Name, that was still left him, tho' for a good while it bore no Price.

Simon, his Lordship's eldest Son, who, by the Custom of *Scotland*, is called Master of *Lovat*, is in the 21st Year of his Age; a Youth of a general good Character, pregnant Parts, mild and affable Disposition, and remarkable for his sincere and honest Mind; such Qualities as his Father had been always a Stranger to, and, therefore could not esteem in his Son; but, on the Contrary, us'd him with a great deal of Harshness and Severity, and train'd him up from his Infancy in such a slavish Subjection, as if he had been a Child of one of his Menials, and not as his eldest Son, and Heir to his Honours and Estate on his Decease. Such as were real Friends to the Family of *Lovat*, conceived great Hopes from the early Virtues that appear'd in this young

young Man ; but all their promising Expectations were suddenly dash'd, when they saw him engag'd in the Rebellion, even in the very Beginning of it ; but as they were sensible that this Conduct of the Youth was directed by the Authority of his Father, by which he was unhappily prevail'd upon to renounce that Duty and Allegiance to his King and Country, he merited their Pity rather than their Anger or Resentment. It was certainly a very unfortunate Circumstance in the Lives of this Youth and his Brother, that they had their Education under a Father, who inculcated Principles into them, destructive of the Government under whose Protection they liv'd, and pernicious in their Effects, of which the Master of *Lovat* is, at this Time, a melancholy Instance.

In or about the Year 1737, Information was given to one of the Secretaries of State, that his Lordship was buying up large Quantities of Arms, such as Musquets, Broad-Swords and Targets, &c. which he pretended were for the Use of his Independant Company ; but Men of Sense knew better, and suspecting his Designs, inform'd the Ministry of their Apprehensions. A certain great Man at Court, and a real Friend of Lord *Lovat*, understanding what his Lordship had been charged with, wrote to him, and entreated him that he would give him a true and ingenuous Account of the Affair, and that he would not conceal or disguise the Truth,

Truth, that so he might be the better enabled to do him any Service with the Government, with respect to what his Lordship had been charg'd with. This great Person further told his Lordship, that some Persons were under great Apprehensions on Account of another Part of his Lordship's Conduct; namely, that he intended to send his Sons to *France* for their Education; but advis'd his Lordship to consider well what he did in that Case, and the bad Consequences of such a Proceeding; that, in his Opinion, his Lordship would do much better to send them to *London*, in which Case, he himself would undertake the Care and the Charge of their Education, without a Farthing Expence to him. This generous Offer, so freely made by this Nobleman, produced very little, if any Alteration in the Schemes which Lord *Lovat* had form'd; tho' he had no other View in it than to save him and his Family from apparent Destruction. But tho' this wise and wholesome Counsel of his noble Friend made no Impression on his Lordship, and tho' he turn'd a deaf Ear to his friendly and disinterested Advice, yet he had so much Complaisance, as to make his grateful Acknowledgments to the Nobleman, for the Care and Friendship he had express'd for him; however, instead of confessing himself guilty of any of those Crimes with which he had been charged, of plotting against the Government, and raising and fomenting any Disturbances in the Country, he stood upon
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his Justification ; and in several long Letters to his noble Friend, insisted on his Innocence, and endeavour'd to clear himself from those foul Aspersions that were thrown on his Character. But all his Arguments were so shuffling and evasive, as plainly shew'd that he did not care to come to an Ecclaircissement of his Actions ; and instead of convincing his Friend by Reason and Facts, deduc'd from his present Conduct, fill'd his Letters with Boastings of the great Services he had done the Government in the Year 1715, which, he said, ought for ever to free him from the Imputation of Disloyalty to his present Majesty, or Disaffection to his Government. His Lordship however acted with a little more Caution afterwards, and carried Matters so cunningly, that no Umbrage could be taken at his Actions for some Time ; yet still he retain'd the same Principles, and pursued the same Views as he ever had, notwithstanding his pretended Allegiance, and the many Obligations he was under to the present reigning Family ; but now, perceiving himself suspected, he carried on his Designs more closely than he had hitherto done ; as we shall presently see.

His Lordship's eldest Daughter being marriageable, he considered in what Manner he should dispose of her, so as to strengthen himself with some powerful Alliance that would be of Service to him in Case of Emergency. After he had call'd over in his Mind
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the Names of the several Gentlemen round the Country, and considered their respective Circumstances, Principles and Power, he at last pitch'd upon the Laird of *Cluny*, Chief of the Clan of *M'Pherfons*. To him he resolved to match his Daughter, and immediately set on Foot a Treaty for that Purpose ; and in a little Time, all Matters being agreed upon, in the Year 1740, they were married. He might, no doubt, have found out a Family more honourable and opulent to match his Daughter into ; but Riches and Honours were not the Considerations that induced his Lordship to contract this Alliance ; but he considered this Gentleman as the Head of a numerous Clan, bold, daring and intrepid, and which could afford him a powerful Assistance upon all future Occasions ; and lying also in his Neighbourhood, he had the better Opportunity of working them into his own Schemes. And by his Lordship's Influence and Persuasion, that Gentleman and his Clan was prevail'd upon to join the Rebels, under Mr. *M'Pherfons* their Chief, tho' he had, at that Time, the Command of a Company in Lord *Loudon's* Regiment.

The Highlanders having for some Ages past made a mighty Noise in the World, and their very Name, to those who knew nothing of them but by Hearsay, has been always terrible ; and as they are the People who brought so much Terror and Destruction into the Kingdom in the late Re-

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bellion ; the Reader, I believe, will not be offended, if we give him a general Description of their Character and Manner of Life, especially as we are now got in the Midst of them, and shall presently have Business with them. *Buchanan*, and other *Scots* Historians, give them the following Character.

They are as parsimonious as the Antients in their Diet, Apparel, and Furniture. They fish and hunt for their Food, and while they hunt, eat it raw, after having squeezed out the Blood. Their Drink is Meat-Broth, or else Whey, of which they have Plenty at their Entertainments ; but most of them drink Water. Their Bread is a very artful Preparation or Composition of Oats and Barley, the only Grain which their Country produces. After eating a little of it in the Morning, they hunt, or go about their Business, without eating any more till Night. They delight most in Cloaths of several Colours, especially striped, and the Colours they are fondest of are Purple and Blue. Their Ancestors, as many of them do still, made use of Plaids very much variegated ; but now they make them rather of dark Colours more like the Crops of Heath, that they may not be discovered while they lie in the Heaths waiting for Game. Being rather wrapped up than covered with those Plaids, they endure all the Rigours of the Seasons, and sometimes sleep cover'd all over with Snow. At home they lie upon the
Ground,

Ground, having under them Fern or Heath (covered with a Sheet or Blanket) the latter laid with the Roots undermost, so that 'tis almost as soft as Feathers, and much more healthful; for the Quality of Heath being to draw out superfluous Humours, when they lie down weary and faint upon it at Night, they rise fresh and vigorous in the Morning. They affect this hard Way of sleeping; and if ever they happen to come into Places where there is better Accommodation, they pull the Coverings off the Bed, and lie down upon them wrapped in their Plaids, lest they should be spoiled by what they call such a *barbarous Effeminacy*.

Let us now return to Lord *Lovat*, and take a View of his Behaviour and Sentiments in Relation to the Clans, particularly his own. The Opinion which he endeavour'd to inculcate on all Occasions was, that the *Chief*, in respect of his Authority among his own People, was absolute and uncontrollable, and that they ought to pay a blind and unlimited Obedience to his Will and Pleasure, from which no Power on Earth could absolve them; that they ought always to be in Readiness to assist him upon every Summons, without asking why or wherefore, or enquiring into the Merits or Justifiableness of the Action they were ordered upon; that his Will ought to be their Law; and that his Resentment of an Injury, sufficiently justified them in taking

his Part in the Quarrel, whether it was right or wrong.

While his Lordship was pursuing his Adversaries in a Course of Law, to recover the Honours and Estates, which he claimed by Right of Inheritance, he had another Thing to prosecute, which was almost of as great an Importance to him as that; namely the Establishment of his Authority and Dignity among his Clan of *Frasers*. For, tho' they were almost all of them his Vassals, Tenants and Dependants, yet they must by some Means or other be brought to acknowledge his Supremacy and Sovereignty over them; otherwise when some Emergency required their Service and Attendance, they might assume their natural Right of Independency, and so refuse their Service when most wanted. In order to gain this important Point, he took the Pains, by subtle Insinuations, to convince them, that Trade and laborious Employments would be of little Signification to them; for he well knew, that if they fell into Business, they would soon be capable of getting a comfortable Subsistence independent of him; or if they should take it in their Heads to go to Sea, and seek their Fortunes abroad, he should lose a good Number of serviceable Hands; or if they should happen to fancy, that by going into Trade, they should better their Circumstances, and so join themselves to some trading Societies or Corporations, they would shake off their Subjection to him. To prevent any Accidents of this Nature, he endeavoured

deavoured by all Means to discourage Trade, Industry, and every Improvement as well in Agriculture as in the Mechanicks, and preach'd up the Heroism of their Ancestors, who far from stooping to the Meannesses of Trade and laborious Occupations, made themselves famous to future Ages by their Prowess and martial Actions; they never enervated their Bodies or debased their Minds with Labours fit only for Beasts, or stupid Drudges to undergo; and he was fully persuaded that the same generous Blood still run in the Veins of all his brave *Frasers*, as animated their unconquerable Ancestors to the noblest Deeds of Heroism.

We have before intimated the blind and zealous Attachment of the Clans to their Chiefs. An Instance of which take as follows. At a Meeting of the Free-holders and Collectors of the Land-Tax, at the Court House at *Inverness* in the Year 1744; for the Choice of a Collector of the Cess or Land-Tax, where were present Lord *Lovat*, Lord President, Lord *Fortrose*, and the Laird of *M'Leod*; on some Dispute between the Lords, *Lovat* and *Fortrose*, the former was so provoked as to give the other the Lie; upon which the latter struck the other a Blow on his Face with his Fist; which his Lordship, notwithstanding his great Age, returned with several Strokes of his Cane; the other Gentlemen interposing, they were parted. One *Frazer* of *Foyer*, afterwards in the Rebellion, being in the Gallery, and seeing the Indignity that was offered to his

his Chief, jumped suddenly into the Court, and presented his Pistol to Lord *Fortrose's* Face; Lord President threw himself between them, which so irritated *Foyer* that he would have shot him, or Lord *Fortrose*, or both of them; but was prevented by a Gentleman standing by, who nimbly threw his Plaid over the Pistol, which prevented the threatened Mischief. Weapons of all Sorts were immediately drawn on both Sides, and a bloody Skirmish was likely to ensue. To prevent which Lord President and Mr. *M'Leod* prevailed on Lord *Fortrose* to go with them out of the Court-house into the Street; where another of the *Lovat* Clan, having heard how his Chief had been affronted, rushed suddenly on Lord *Fortrose*, and as he was walking between Lord President and Mr. *M'Leod*, knocked him down with a long Stick. Both Parties being prodigiously irritated with these reciprocal Insults, dangerous Consequences, it was feared, would ensue, and Resentments carried to Extremities between the *Frasers* and *Mac Kenzies*, two powerful and neighbouring Clans; but the Lord President and other Friends interposing, the Parties were at length reconciled.

In the next Place we shall give a Touch of his Lordship's Vanity. In the Year 1736, his Lordship erected a noble Monument in the Churchyard of *Kirkbill*, not far from *Castledounie*. The Inscription upon it set forth in a very pompous Stile, his own heroic Virtues and great Exploits, and in particular, what
wonderful

wonderful Things he had done for the Honour and Interest of his Family and Clan. It happened that Sir *Robert Munro*, who fell in the Battle of *Falkirk*, being on a Visit to his Lordship, desired to have a View of this famous Monument, and upon seeing it, said jocularly to him, *Prithee, Simon, what was in thy Head to put up such a boasting and romantick Inscription; who the De'el will believe a Word of it?* To which his Lordship answer'd, *Why, Bob, you must know that this Monument and Inscription, are design'd only for the Inspection of the Frasers; and though no Body besides should believe a Word of it, yet as it commemorates the Merits and Virtues of their Chief, they must and will believe every Syllable there inscrib'd, and their Posterity will regard it with as much Veneration as the Gospel itself.*

The Inscription on this Monument, erected by his Lordship, is as follows.

TO the MEMORY of

THOMAS LORD FRASER of LOVAT, who chose rather to undergo the greatest Hardships of Fortune, than to part with the antient Honours of his House, and bore those Hardships with undaunted Fortitude of Mind,

This MONUMENT was erected

By SIMON LORD FRASER of LOVAT, his Son, who having likewise undergone many and great Vicissitudes of good and bad Fortune, through the Malice of his Enemies, he, in the End, at the Head of his *Clan*, forced his Way to his paternal Inheritance, with the Sword in his Hand,

Hand, and relieved his Kindred and Followers from Oppression and Slavery. And both at Home and in foreign Countries, *by his eminent Actions in the War and in the State, he has acquired great Honours and Reputation.*

Hic tegit ossa lapis *Simonis* fortis in armis,
 Restituit pressum nam genus ille suum.
 Hoc marmor posuit cari genitoris honori,
 In genus afflictum par erat ejus amor.

The Motto of this Family was *Je suis prest*, I AM READY, till the present Lord having overcome all his Enemies without Bloodshed in any one Instance, assumed that of *Sine sanguine victor*.

His Lordship was undoubtedly under the greatest Obligation to the Government for the fortunate Turn to his Affairs after the Year 1715. His late Majesty was continually heaping Favours upon him; made him Lord Lieutenant of the County, and Governor of *Inverness*, gave him a Pension, and the Command of a Highland Independent Company, there being several of those Companies raised after the Rebellion, to preserve the Peace in the Highlands. The King knew my Lord's Character, and that he appear'd in Arms against the Rebels purely to serve himself; and therefore his Majesty resolv'd, if possible, by loading him with Favours, to let him see that his chiefest Interest lay in serving the Government faithfully. This was good Policy; and had a late Ministry pursued the same Measures, Lord *Lovat* might still have remained steadfast in the Interest of his Country, and the Rebellion never

never have gone those Lengths it did. But in the Year 1738, his Lordship having voted contrary to the Directions of the Ministry, although the Candidate he voted for was in the Court Interest, they took away his Pension, stript him of his Command, and depriv'd him of every Mark of the Government's Favour. Another Step which the Ministry took, equally impolitick, as was generally thought, was, the regimenting the Highland Companies in 1739, which were raised for preserving Tranquillity in the Highlands, but were represented by a certain great Officer, as no longer of Use in that Capacity, and in the Year 1742 were sent to *Flanders*; and no more than six Companies were left in the Garrisons of the Highlands, viz. at Fort *St. George*, Fort *Augustus*, Fort *William* and *Ruthven*. By which Means Lord *Lovat* was left at Liberty to put in Practice all his revengeful Schemes, which his Malice and Disaffection could suggest or inspire.

And it was not long before his Lordship discover'd his Disgust and Dissatisfaction. His Conversation plainly shew'd, that he only wanted an Opportunity to break out into open Rebellion. No wonder then, considering his Power and Influence among the Clans, that so many of them have taken Part with the Pretender, whom he resolv'd from the first to assist with his Forces. But as this could not be done without incurring the Guilt of High Treason, he determin'd to act with the greatest Caution and Circumspection; and rather than

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expose himself to the Resentment of the Government, he chose to sacrifice his eldest Son, the unhappy Master of *Lovat*.

Not long after the Battle of *Preston-Pans*, the *Frasers*, to the Number of 800, were assembled, and armed, and sent to join the Rebels at *Perth*: But that his Lordship might seem to have no Hand in it, this little Stratagem was put in Practice. It was given out, that a large Number of Lord *Lovat*'s Cattle were stolen and carried off by a Party of Robbers, and that there was certain Information brought in that the Thieves were driving them Southwards. Whereupon the Master of *Lovat* was detached after them at the Head of the above-mentioned Body of *Frasers*; but using too little Caution in their March, they were intercepted by a Party of the Rebels, and forced to take on with them. A Report was current about this Time, and generally believed, that his Lordship made an Offer to a certain great Man at Court, that if 25,000 *l.* was put into his Hands, to be distributed among the Chiefs of the Clans, he would engage that that Part of the Country should be kept quiet, and the Highlanders obliged to assist the King's Forces. Strange as this Proposal was, after he had work'd up the Spirit of Rebellion in his Clan, yet he had this View in it, that upon Refusal of the Offer, he cherish'd and kept alive the Rebellious Disposition in them, by an Ostentation of his own Importance, and likewise to render himself the more considerable in the Eyes of the Government.

ment. His Proposal however was rejected with Disdain, and his Designs suspected; and so he was reduc'd to a Sort of Necessity of engaging in Support of the Pretender, whose Cause, above forty Years ago, he had notoriously betray'd, and craftily opposed in 1715, and therefore could not now expect any great Confidence from that Party.

The Lord President, who since the breaking out of the Insurrection in *Scotland*, has been exceeding active and vigilant in the Service of the Government, out of a sincere Concern for Lord *Lovat*, wrote him a Letter, expressing his unfeigned Friendship for his Lordship, but at the same Time intimated that he was not unacquainted with his secret and disloyal Practices, entreating him to relinquish an Enterprize, the certain and unavoidable Consequence of which would be the Ruin and Destruction to himself and Family, and advising him to order and enjoin his Son and People to leave the Rebels, and return to their Duty and Allegiance to their natural and lawful Sovereign. This produc'd an Answer from his Lordship, the Perusal of which may convince any Man to which Side his Inclinations were byass'd, and is indeed a true Picture of the Man. Evasions and Sophistry he opposes to Reason and Argument, and covers his real Designs under the Cloak of Hypocrisy. But as the Letter and Answer will best discover the different Temper and Disposition of the Writers of them, we shall insert them both for the Satisfaction of the Reader.

*Lord President's Letter to Lord Lovat,
dated at Inverness, the 28th of October,
1745.*

My Lord,

AS I have now the Honour of being charged with the Publick Affairs in this Part of the Kingdom, I can no longer remain a Spectator of your Lordship's Conduct, and see the double Game you have played for some Time past, without betraying the Trust reposed in me, and at once risking my Reputation, and the Fidelity that I owe to his Majesty as a good Subject. Your Lordship's Actions now discover evidently your Inclinations, and leave us no further in the Dark about what Side you are to choose in the present unhappy Insurrection: You have now so far pulled off the Mask, that we can see the Mark you aim at, though on former Occasions, you have had the Skill and Address to disguise your Intentions in Matters of far less Importance. And, indeed, methinks a little more of your Lordships wonted Artifice would not have been amiss, whatever had been your private Sentiments with respect to this unnatural Rebellion. You should, my Lord, have duly considered and estimated the Advantages that would arise to your Lordship from its Success, and balanced them with the Risques you run if it should happen to miscarry; and above all Things, you ought to have considered your own Safety, and allowed that the chief Place in your System of Politicks; which, I persuade myself, would have induced your Lordship to have played the Game after a quite different Manner, and with a much greater Degree of Caution and Policy. But so far
has

has your Lordship been from acting with your ordinary *finesse* and Circumspection on this Occasion, that you sent away your Son, and the best Part of your Clan to join the Pretender, with as little Concern as if no Danger had attended such a Step: I say, sent them away; for we are not to imagine they went of themselves, or would have ventured to take Arms without your Lordship's Concurrence and Approbation: This, however, you are pretty sure cannot be easily proved, which I believe indeed may be true. But I cannot think it will be a difficult Matter to make it appear, that the whole Strain of your Lordship's Conversation in every Company where you have appeared, since the Pretender's Arrival, has tended to pervert the Minds of his Majesty's Subjects, and seduce them from their Allegiance: And give me Leave to tell you, my Lord, even this falls under the *Construction of Treason*, and is no less liable to Punishment than open Rebellion; — as, I am afraid, your Lordship will find when once this Insurrection is crushed, and the Government at Leisure to examine into the Affair. And, I am sorry to tell you, my Lord, that I could sooner undertake to plead the Cause of any of those unhappy Gentlemen, who are just now actually in Arms against his Majesty, and I could say more in Defence of their Conduct, than I can in Defence of your Lordship's. The Duke of *Perth*, and Lord *Ogilvy*, never qualified, nor did they ever receive the smallest Favour from the present Government; but, on the contrary, were both stripped of their Titles and Honours, and from Men of the first Quality, reduced to the State of private Gentlemen, since the Revolution, and may both be supposed to act from a Principle of Resentment, and only take up Arms to recover what they thought themselves unjustly deprived of. Lord *George Murray* never had any Place or Pension from the Publick,

lick, and was no doubt, drawn in by the Influence of the Marquis of *Tullibardin*, perhaps, touched with Pity and Commiseration for his eldest Brother, who has spent the best Part of his Life in Exile, and undoubtedly upon an Allowance much inferior to his Dignity. These, and such like Apologies, may be offered in Defence of most of the Leading Men in the present Rebellion; but what shall I say in Favour of you, my Lord? You, who have flourished under the present happy Establishment, you, who, in the beginning of your Days, forfeited both your Life and Fortune, and yet, by the Benignity of the Government, was not only indulged in the Liberty of living at Home, but even restored to all you could lay Claim to: Nay, his Majesty's Goodness went so far as to employ your Lordship in his Service, and was pleased to Honour you with the Command of one of the Independent Companies that were raised some Years ago in the Highlands, which you enjoyed for a very long Time: So that both Duty and Gratitude ought to have influenced your Lordship's Conduct, at this critical Juncture, and disposed you to have acted a Part quite different from what you have done. But there are some Men whom no Duty can bind, nor no Favour can oblige; and, I am afraid, if a timely Repentance do not prevent it, your Lordship will, not unjustly, be ranked among that Number. You now see, my Lord, how unanimous the People of *England* are against the Pretender, and what Forces they are mustering up to oppose him. The King has ordered Home his Troops; several Noblemen have raised Regiments at their own Expences; and every County and Corporation throughout the Kingdom are entering into Associations in Defence of the present Establishment: So that these few unhappy Gentlemen, who are engaged in this Rebellion, will have Armies after Armies to encounter, and
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if your Lordship entertains any Hopes of their Success, you will find your Mistake, when it is too late to amend it. What I would therefore propose to your Lordship, as the only Expedient left to rescue you from the Hazard of a rigorous Prosecution, is to recal your Son and his Men immediately. This Step, I am persuaded, would produce several good Consequences; for, on the one Hand, it would prevent Numbers from joining the Rebels, who now hang in Suspence; and, on the other occasion a great many of those already engaged to desert and retire to their respective Habitations, and, perhaps, may be the Means of crushing the Rebellion without further Bloodshed; which would do your Lordship a great deal of Honour, and such a remarkable Piece of Service would be amply rewarded by the Government. If you should judge it proper, my Lord, to follow this Advice, it will give me a great deal of Pleasure, as it will contribute to stop the Progress of an unhappy Civil War, that threatens us with endless Calamities; but if your Lordship continues obstinate, and will not order your Men to disband and return Home, I shall be obliged to take you into Custody be the Event what it will: And then your Lordship will run the Risque of having your Family extirpated as well as others of the Highland Chiefs. Now, my Lord, I have told your Lordship my Sentiments pretty freely, and no less out of Friendship to your Lordship than Duty to the Publick. I might have advanced many other Arguments, to induce your Lordship to follow my Advice, but methinks what I have already said is sufficient; and so I shall only further add, that I am,

Yours, &c.

Lord

Lord Lovat's Letter in Answer to the above,
dated at Beaufort, the 29th of October,
 1745.

My dear Lord,

I Received the Honour of your Lordship's Letter late last Night, of Yesterday's Date; and I own I never received one like it since I was born: and I give your Lordship ten thousand Thanks for the kind Freedom you make with me in it: For I see by it, that for my Misfortune in having an obstinate stubborn Son, and an ungrateful Kindred, my Family must go to Destruction, and I must lose my Life in my old Age. Such Usage looks rather like a *Turkish* or *Persian* Government, than like a *British*. Am I, my Lord, the first Father that has had an undutiful and unnatural Son? Or am I the first Man that has made a good Estate, and saw it destroyed in his own Time, by the mad foolish Actions of an unnatural Son, who prefers his own extravagant Fancies to the solid Advice of an affectionate old Father? I have seen Instances of this in my own Time, but never heard till now, that the Foolishness of a Son would take away the Life and Liberty of a Father that lived peaceably, and was an honest Man, and well-inclined to the rest of Mankind. But I find, the longer a Man lives, the more Wonders and extraordinary Things he sees. Now, my dear Lord, I beg Leave to tell you my Mind freely in my Turn. I thank God I was born with very little Fear in the greatest Difficulties and Dangers by Sea and Land, and, by God's Assistance, I have often saved my Life by the Firmness and Steadiness of my Resolutions; and though I have now but a little Remains of a
 Life

Life that is clogged with Infirmities and Pain, yet by God's Assistance, I am resolved to preserve it as long as I can. And though my Son should give Way with the young People of his Clan, yet I will have 600 brave *Frasers* at Home, many of them about my own Age, that would lose the last Drop of their Blood to preserve my Person; and I do assure your Lordship, if I am attacked, I will sell my Life as dear as I can. For since I am as peaceable a Subject as any in the Kingdom, and as ready to pay the King's Taxes, and to do every Thing that a faithful Subject ought to do, I know no Law or Reason that my Person should not be in Safety. I did use, and will use the strongest Arguments that my Reason can suggest to me, by my Cousin *Gortulegge*, that he may repeat them to my Son; and if they should not prevail, is it any Ways just or equitable that I should be punished for the Faults of my Son? Now, my dear Lord, as to the uncivil War that occasions my Misfortunes, and in which almost the whole Kingdom is involved on one Side or the other, I humbly think, that Men should be moderate on both Sides, since it is morally impossible to know the Event; for Thousands, ten Thousands on both Sides are positive that their own Party will carry. And suppose that this venturous Prince should be utterly defeated, and that the Government should carry all in Triumph, no Man can think that any King upon the Throne would destroy so many ancient good Families, for engaging in a Cause that was always their Principle, and what they thought their Duty to support. King *William* was as great a King, as to his Knowledge of Government and Politicks, as late for many hundred Years upon the Throne of *England*; and when his General, who was one of the best in *Europe*, was defeated, and forced to run to save his Life, and all his Army routed at *Killicranky* by a handful of Highlanders,

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not full two Thousand in Number, King *William* was so far from desiring to extirpate them, that he sent the Earl of *Broadalbine* with twenty five thousand Pounds Sterling, and sought no other Conditions from them, than that they should live peaceably at Home. So, my Lord, we cannot imagine, that though the Highlanders should be defeated at this Time, and most of them killed, and the Government full Masters of the Kingdom, that any Administration would be so cruel, as to endeavour to extirpate the whole Remains of the Highlanders. Besides, it would be a dangerous Enterprize, which we nor our Children could see at an End.

I pray God we may never see such a Scene in our Country, as Subjects killing and destroying their Fellow Subjects. For my Part, my Lord, I am resolved to live a peaceful Subject in my own House, and do nothing against the King or Government. And if I am attacked by the King's Guards, and his Captain General at their Head, I will defend myself as long as I have Breath in me : And if I am killed here, it is not far to my Burial Place ; and I will have, after I am dead, what I always wished, the Coronach of all the Women in my Country, to convey my Body to my Grave ; and that was my Ambition, when I was in my happiest Situation in the World. I am, my Lord,

Your Lordships, &c.

The Lord President's Endeavours to reclaim his Lordship from the pernicious and rebellious Courses he was taking, proving ineffectual, and he appearing rather more daring and open than ever in the Pretender's Cause ; the Lord *Loudon* thought it highly necessary to put an immediate Stop to the Progress he was making in Favour of the Rebellion. The Course which Lord *Loudon* took to bring

bring Lord *Lovat* to Reason, was as follows:

Inverness, Dec. 22, 1745. Upon the News of the March of the Rebels into *England*, and some pretended Successes gained by them, the *Frasers*, headed by the Lord *Lovat*'s Son, formed a Sort of Blockade of Fort *Augustus*, while Lord *Lewis Gordon* in *Banff* and *Aberdeenshire* was raising Men, and levying Money, by Force and Threats of the most severe Military Execution. The Money expected from the Town and Shire of *Aberdeen* amounted to near 13000 *l.* Sterling. Thereupon the Earl of *Loudon*, with 600 of the well-affected Clans, marched in a very severe Frost through *Stratherrick*, part of Lord *Lovat*'s Estate, on the South Side of *Lochness*, to the Relief of Fort *Augustus*. He met with no Opposition, supplied the Place with what was wanting, and returned to *Inverness*, December 8. after letting the Inhabitants of *Stratherrick* know what they were to expect if they joined the Rebels. This Detachment, after one Day's Rest, was ordered to march to relieve *Banff* and *Aberdeenshire*. For this End the two Companies of *McKenzies*, who had been posted near *Brakan*, were called into *Inverness* the 9th, and on the 10th the Lord *Loudon*, with 800 Men, marched out to Lord *Lovat*'s House of *Castledownie*, to obtain the best Security he could for the peaceable Behaviour of the *Frasers*; at the same Time the Laird of *Macleod* was detached with 500 Men (400 whereof were of his own Kindred) toward *Elgin*, in their Way to *Banff* and *Aberdeenshire*, to prevent the Rebels recruiting there; and they were to be Lord *Loudon*'s, and as many Men as could be spared from *Inverness*. Lord *Loudon* prevailed with Lord *Lovat* on the 11th to go with him to *Inverness*, and to live there under his Eye, until he should bring in all the Arms which his Clan were possessed of, which he promised to do in three

Days Time, and highly condemned the Behaviour of his Son. Whilst Lord *Loudon* waited for the Delivery of these Arms, 200 Men under Captain *Munro* of *Colcairn*, were detached by his Lordship to follow *Macleod* to *Elgin* and *Aberdeen*. Lord *Lovat*, after delaying to fulfil his Promise from Time to Time, at last found Means to get out of the House where he was lodg'd, at a back Passage, and made his Escape ; but did not go back to his House at *Castledounie*, but secreted himself among the Clans, where he employed himself in spiriting up and encouraging the *Frasers* and others to act strenuously for the Pretender.

After the Arrival of the *Hessians*, the Rebels marched Northwards, and many of them dispers'd and went home, and it was generally thought they would never have been able to make Head again. However, about the latter End of *March* they began to get their Bodies together, and appear'd in great Numbers from their several Clans. This Re-union of them, 'twas said, was owing to a Scheme which a Gentleman had drawn up, and calculated for the entire Prevention of such Insurrections for the future, which was, by transporting all those that were found in Arms against the Government, to our Plantations in *America*. Lord *Lovat* having got Notice of this, procured the Scheme in Writing, got it translated into the Highland Language, shew'd it to the Rebels, and at the same Time told them, that the Duke of *Cumberland* was coming to put it in Execution, and would certainly take them away every Mother's Son ; and therefore advised them, if they had any Regard for their Liberties, Properties, Wives and Children, that they would stand stoutly on their Defence, and then they need not fear any Forces that the most powerful Enemy could bring against them ; and it seems they pursued his Advice. His Lordship was exceed-

exceeding active in the Cause, even beyond his Years, in making false Alarms, and exasperating the Rebels against the Duke and his Forces, who he assured them, were coming into the Highlands on Purpose to extirpate them Root and Branch. Nay, it was affirm'd, that his Lordship was at the Pains of drawing up a long Manifesto, setting forth the Miseries, the Rapine and Violence that their Enemies were then bringing upon them, which they had no other Way to avoid but by exerting their usual Prowess in their Defence. This Manifesto, or Declaration, he caus'd to be read publickly in the *Kirks* every *Sunday*.

In a Letter which the young Pretender wrote to his Father, he acknowledged the Services done him by the Lord *Lovat* and his Son, who continued firmly attached to him, and neglected nothing that could contribute to the Advancement of his Cause.

At the famous Battle of *Culloden*, the Master of *Lovat* headed the *Frasers*, who behaved with their wonted Bravery and Resolution. But his Lordship was, at that Time, at his House at *Castledownie*; whither the young Pretender, after the Battle, fled, and found his Lordship in his Chamber. *My Lord*, said he, *we are undone! my Army is routed; what will become of poor Scotland?* His Lordship, far from being able to console him in his Trouble, had need of Comfort himself. For in this Overthrow of the Army, he plainly saw his own; for his own Prosperity or Destruction were so intimately connected with the Fate of the Rebels, that both must stand or fall together.

But however, Lord *Lovat* soon after gained Spirits; and notwithstanding his Lordship had acted so wickedly all along, he could not help proposing still further Villanies, by advising the young Pretender and the rest of the Rebels that were left of their Army to go up into the Highlands,

lands, and there they might keep *Cumberland's* Army (for so he call'd the Duke of *Cumberland*) in Play the whole Summer, and by that Time the *French* might send them Assistance with Men, Money, Arms, and Ammunition. Accordingly they retired to the Mountains; and having collected together some Officers, and a few of their Men, they got upon an Eminence, where they had a Prospect to a great Distance all around them; and from thence they could easily perceive the dreadful Effects of the Battle: Heaps of their Men lying in their Blood; others flying before their Enemies; Fire and Sword raging every where, and a great deal of it upon his own Estate, and among his Tenants; upon which his Lordship address'd those of his sorrowful Clan that were with him, in Words to this Effect. — 'Now, Gentlemen, you see my Predictions, *that our Enemies would destroy us with Fire and Sword*, prove true: They have begun with me, and will not make an End till they have laid waste, ravaged, and burnt our unhappy Country.'

After this his Lordship retired farther into the Fastnesses of the Mountains, where he hid himself for a good while; here he had Leisure enough to reflect on his Folly in bringing Ruin and Destruction upon himself, his Family, and even his Posterity, but his Royal Highness being well inform'd, that the Lord *Lovat* was lurking about somewhere in the Mountains, and that he had been seen at a particular Place, Parties were immediately sent out in search of him, to seize and bring him to Justice.

Upon hearing of which his Lordship not thinking it safe to remain longer upon the main Land, got off in a Boat to one of the Western Islands, where he thought himself secure from all Danger; but

but his ill Fate still following him, it was not long before he had Intelligence that a Party of the King's Forces was come into that very Island in Search of him. Nor was he misinform'd; for his Royal Highness being inform'd that he was got into the Islands, sent a Detachment of the Garrison of Fort *William*, under the Command of Capt. *Millar*, on Board the *Furnace* and *Terror* Sloops, to make Descents. His Lordship no sooner heard of their Arrival, but he immediately got into the Woods, where he imagin'd he should be in the greatest Security, but was there taken after three Days Search.

The Captain having thus got fast hold of his Prize, committed him to the Care of his Men, to carry him to the Sloops, and so convey him to a Place of Security. However his Lordship, far from being daunted at this new Misfortune, and scarce thinking himself a Prisoner, told the Captain, *that he had best use him well; for if he did not, he should make him answer for his Conduct before a Set of Gentlemen, the very Sight of whom should make him tremble.* The Captain smil'd at his Assurance, and told him, he would take particular Care that his Usage should be as good as a Man in his Situation might expect; and so, without more Ceremony, conducted him to Fort *Augustus*, where his Lordship was treated, by the Duke's Order, with the utmost Tenderness and Humanity; and being very weak and infirm, he had all proper Assistance allow'd him, and every obliging Indulgence shewn him.

*A true Copy of a Letter wrote by Lord Lovat,
to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cum-
berland, Dated at Fort William, June 22,
1746.*

S I R,

THIS Letter is most humbly address'd to your Royal Highness by the very unfortunate *Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat*. I durst not presume to solicit or petition your Royal Highness for any Favour, if it was not very well known to the best People in this Country attach'd to the Government, such as the Lord President, and by those that frequented the Court at that Time, that I did more essential Service to your Royal Family, in suppressing the great Rebellion in the Year 1715, with the Hazard of my Life, and the Loss of my only Brother, than any of my Rank in *Scotland*; for which I had three Letters of Thanks from my Royal Master, by the Hands of Earl *Stanhope*, then Secretary of State; in which his Majesty strongly promised to give me such Marks of his Favour as should oblige all the Country to be faithful to him; therefore the gracious King was as good as his Word to me; for as soon as I arriv'd at Court, and was introduc'd to the King by the late Duke of *Argyle*, I became, by Degrees, to be as great a Favourite as any *Scotsman* about the Court; and I often carried your Royal Highness in my Arms in the Parks of *Kensington* and *Hampton Court*, to hold you up for your Royal Grandfather, that he might embrace you, for he was very fond of you and the young Princesses. Now, Sir, all that I have to say in my present Circumstances, is, that your Royal Highness will be pleased to extend your Goodness towards me in a generous and compassionate

passionate Manner, in my deplorable Situation, and if I have the Honour to kiss your Royal Highness's Hand, I would easily demonstrate to you, that I can do more Service to the King and Government, than destroying an hundred such old, and very infirm Men like me, pass'd 70 (without the least Use of my Hands, Legs or Knees) can be of Advantage in any Shape to the Government.

Your Royal Father, our present Sovereign, was very kind to me in the Year 1715. I presented on my Knees to his Majesty a Petition in Favour of the Laird of *M Intosh*, to obtain a Protection for him, which he granted me, and gave it to *Charles Cathcart*, then Groom of his Bed-chamber; and order'd him to deliver into my Hands, that I might give it to the Laird of *M Intosh*. This was but one Testimony of several Marks of Goodness his Majesty was pleas'd to bestow on me while the King was at *Hanover*; so I hope I shall feel that the same compassionate Blood runs in your Royal Highness's Veins.

Major-General *Campbel* told me, that he had the Honour to acquaint your Royal Highness, that he was sending me to Fort *William*, and that he begg'd of your Royal Highness to order a Litter to be made for me to carry me to Fort *Augustus*; as I am in such a Condition that I am not able to stand, walk, or ride. I am with the utmost Submission, and most profound Respect,

S I R,

Your Royal Highness's most obedient,

And most faithful humble Servant,

Sign'd,

LOVAT.

I

July

July 15, his Lordship was convey'd to *Stirling* under a strong Guard; where he was received by a Detachment of Lord *Mark Ker's* Dragoons, under the Command of Major *Gardiner*. From *Stirling*, after a few Days Rest, he proceeded to *Edinburgh*, on his Way to *London*. From thence he went on to *Berwick*; and on the 25th proceeded on his Journey, being escorted by Major *Gardiner* and sixty Dragoons. His Journey from thence to *London* was divided into twenty Stages, and to travel one Stage a Day.

The 14th of *August* his Lordship lay at *Barnet*, and the 15th, which was the *Friday* before the Lords *Kilmarnock* and *Balmerino* were beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, he arrived in Town. In his Way to the *Tower*, he pass'd by the Scaffold that was erected for that Execution, and seeing it, *Ah!* says he, *is it so?* and seem'd under some Concern.

Being come to the *Tower*, he was received there by Lieutenant Governor *Williamson*, who conducted him to the Appartment appointed for his Reception; but being very feeble both in his Hands and Legs, some of the Warders were forc'd to assist him from the Coach to his Room. Being seated in an Elbow Chair, he could not forbear uttering some Reflections on the Hardships of his Fate, to this Effect: 'What a turbulent Life, said he, has mine been? The former Part of it was full of Confusion and Trouble, distress'd by my Enemies, depriv'd of my Honours and Estate, persecuted and hunted from my native Place, obliged to take Refuge in bleak and barren Mountains, forced to procure even the Necessaries of Life among a People little better than Savages, and suffer all the Inclemencies of the Seasons, and almost

' almost perished with Hunger and Cold. My Enè-
 ' mies, not content with the forlorn Condition
 ' to which they had driven me, fought my Life.
 ' To save myself from their hungry Jaws, I was
 ' oblig'd to quit my native Country, and seek for
 ' Shelter in a Foreign Kingdom, where I remain'd
 ' many Years in Exile. What Scenes of Hard-
 ' ships, Afflictions, and Distresses, have I gone
 ' thro'! What a Variety of Troubles and Sor-
 ' rows have I experienc'd! No Man, I believe
 ' ever suffer'd more; no Man ever deserved them
 ' less. But so it has pleas'd Heaven to deal with
 ' me; and I am content. I am now arrived at old
 ' Age, and was in Hopes I should have spent my
 ' few remaining Days in Peace and Tranquility. But
 ' it seems, I have not yet suffered enough; the
 ' Malice of my Fate has prepared another melan-
 ' choly Scene for me; and the last Act of my
 ' Life is to conclude the Whole in a very tragical
 ' Catastrophe. But it affords me no small Con-
 ' solation, that at a Time when I have nothing
 ' left to support me but a good Conscience, that
 ' in all my Dealings with Mankind, whether
 ' they were my Superiors, Equals, or Inferiors, I
 ' always acted from a thorough Conviction, that
 ' what I did was right and equitable, and I hope
 ' the great God will not now in my old Age,
 ' bring in Judgment against me the Sins and Fol-
 ' lies of my Youth, or even of my more advanced
 ' Years; but mercifully remember the Frailties of
 ' human Nature, the Defects and Imperfections of
 ' Reason, the Strength of Passions, the Violence
 ' of Temptations, all which separately, but more
 ' especially conjunctly, might too powerfully bi-
 ' as the Mind, and, consequently too much in-
 ' fluence the Will to commit such Things as could
 ' not always square either with the Laws of God
 ' or Man.

But notwithstanding these pious Ejaculations, this solemn Appeal to the Sincerity of his Intentions; People of Understanding will not be bias'd in their Judgment by the most solemn Asseverations, when incontestable Facts stand in direct Opposition to Words. His Lordship had always the Character of an artful designing Man; and indeed his whole Life has been variegated into a Multitude of Scenes of Cunning and Artifice. The foregoing Account of his Lordship's Life, even from his Youth to his old Age, gives Instances enough of this; and an infinite Number of others might be added; but we shall content ourselves with relating here a few more of those of the greatest Notoriety; so that I must beg Excuse for going back again into *Scotland*.

It is well known, that his Lordship always made an external Profession of his Esteem for the present Government, especially while the late King was heaping Favours upon him, who knew that there was no other Way of keeping him stedfast to his Loyalty, than by making it his Interest so to be. And his Majesty was right in his Opinion; for no sooner did a late Ministry, who had good Reason to suspect his Sincerity, divest him of the Command of his Troop of Highlanders, but his Lordship soon discover'd the Rancour of his Heart, and the true Colour of his Principles. For from that Time forward he gave up himself wholly to the Interest of the Pretender, enter'd into a treasonable Correspondence with him, was continually forming Schemes to bring about a Revolution in his Favour, and did all in his Power to secure the Clans for him. The Pretender was very sensible of his Lordship's Heartiness in his Cause, and as a grateful Acknowledgment of the great Services that he had done, and was then doing for him, gave him a Commission to be Lieutenant General of his Forces, and another Commission to be General of the Highlanders.

landers. These were substantial Favours, since they contributed very much to the Increase of his Lordship's Revenue : But this was not all ; for his Lordship, tho' near fourscore Years of Age, wanted another Feather in his Cap ; he could not go to his Grave in Peace, unless he was created a Duke. The Pretender, we may be assur'd, would deny him nothing ; and therefore a Patent was granted, importing to create him Duke of *Frazer*.

Having brought his Lordship thus far, and seen him cover'd with Honours by his Masters at *Rome*, let us take a Step back, and see some of those Considerations which induc'd the Pretender to be so ready to oblige his Lordship on every Occasion.

In the Year 1719, after his late Majesty had been for three or four Years successively, showering his Favours upon him, yet he cou'd not forbear shewing his Inclination for the Service of the Chevalier ; and tho' he was then eating the Bread of the Government, the whole Turn of his Conversation was in Praise of the Pretender, and in Entomiums upon his Family, and the Righteousness of his Cause.

In the Year 1737, being somewhat exasperated upon losing his Commission of his Highland Regiment, broke out into great Excesses both in Words and Actions against the present Government ; tho' it's notorious, without any just Grounds for such Behaviour. For the true Reason which induc'd his Majesty to divest him of his Commission was, because he never paid his Men, and for other Complaints which were made against him.

However, his Lordship, under Pretence of ill Usage from the Government, enter'd into Plots and Associations in Favour of the Pretender ; he no longer made any Scruple of engaging his own Clan in the same Cause, and used all his Influence and Interest in bringing over the other Clans to act in Conjunction with him and his.

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In 1739, having, as he imagin'd, secur'd all or the greatest Part of the Clans in the Interest he was pursuing, the next Step he took was, to solicit an Invasion from *France*, and to that End wrote several Letters to the Court at *Versailles*, in order to dispose the *French* Ministry to encourage and abet the Undertaking, in which he at last succeeded.

His Lordship now threw off all Manner of Disguise, especially among his Particulars and Acquaintance; among whom it was usual for him to drink Confusion to the *White Horse*, and the whole Generation of them. Neither did he make any Difficulty in declaring what Religion he professed, namely, the *Roman Catholick*, which he averr'd was the only true Religion.

As to his Notions of the *English* Government, and the establish'd Religion, we may judge of them, from his cursing the Reformation and Revolution; the first for introducing a wrong Religion, and the other for running us in Debt.

In the Year 1741-2, a Conspiracy was actually form'd, and Measures concerted with Cardinal *Fleury* and the *French* Ministry, who promised to invade *England* with 10, or 12,000 Men, and at the same Time to send 3000 Men to *Scotland*; but the Cardinal happening to die before the Project could be put in Execution, that Scheme was laid aside for the present.

Card. *Tencin* succeeding *Fleury* as Prime Minister, he, together with *Monf. Amelot*, in Conjunction with the *Jacobites*, formed a new Scheme; but before it could be put in Practice, it was judg'd necessary to have Informations from *England*, what Assistance could be relied on in Furtherance of the Project that had been thus concerted in *France*. To this End, the E. of T—— was sent over, and had several Conferences with some Gentlemen of great Fortunes; but how far they enter'd into the Plot, does

does not appear.) However, it is pretty clear, that the intended Invasion was settled in 1744, and that from that Time the *Jacobites* push'd it on with all their Might, till the Time it took Place, which was the Year following, when the young Pretender landed in *Scotland*.

Lord *Lovat* was no sooner informed that the young Chevalier was got into *Scotland*, but he sent Messages and Letters to him, congratulating him on his Arrival, and assuring him that, tho' by Reason of his great Age and Infirmities, he could not attend him in Person, yet he would send him 4 or 5000 Men, with his Son at the Head of them; which was as great a Mark of his firm Attachment to his Person and Cause as it was in his Power to give. And indeed the young Pretender was so sensible of the Obligation, that he order'd *Murray*, his Secretary, to write his Lordship a Letter of Thanks, and to acquaint him how well satisfied he was with his sincere Intentions to serve him, desiring him to hasten the March of his *Frasers* with all the Expedition possible, and appointed a Route for them, by which they were to join the Rebels at *Moffat* or *Carlisle*.

After the Rebels were overthrown at the Battle of *Culloden*, Lord *Lovat* was present at a Meeting of several of the Chiefs; wherein his Lordship gave it as his Opinion and Advice, that they should assemble all the Men they could get together to defend their Country, and that if they were obliged to submit to superior Force, that they would make the best Terms they could Sword in Hand. Accordingly he himself order'd his Steward to transmit 70*l*. to his Son to distribute among his Men, which was ten Days Pay.

But the greatest Piece of Wickedness his Lordship was guilty of during the whole Progress of the Rebellion, was, his forcing his Son into it contrary
to

to his Inclination. The Youth (not 20 Years of Age) begg'd and entreated his Father to desist from those dangerous Practices in which he had engag'd, and that he would not compel him, his eldest Son, to enter into his Views, the inevitable Consequence of which must be his certain Destruction. But his Lordship was deaf to his Son's Prayers, Tears, and Entreaties, and insisted on his Obedience, on Pain of being disinherited. When the young Gentleman saw that no Considerations that he could offer had any Weight with his Father, he took the white Cockade out of his Hat, and threw it into the Fire, and said, that he was fitter to travel than to engage in such an Enterprize, and then retired into the Country, resolving with himself not to engage in the Rebellion, let what wou'd befall him. He continued in his Retirement for about a Fortnight; when it unluckily happening that Lord *Cromartie* coming to *Castle-Downie*, Lord *Lovat's* Seat, with his Party, in his Way to the Pretender, his Lordship sent directly for his Son, and commanded him without more ado to head his Clan, and go with them, in Company with Lord *Cromartie*, and join the Prince. The Son, being at length overcome by the Authority of his Father, obey'd.

So assiduous and diligent was his Lordship in the Cause, that he left no Stone unturn'd, no Means untry'd to promote it. He wrote a Letter to *McLeod* in the Isle of *Skie*, pressing him to hasten forward with his Men to join the Pretender. His Lordship likewise, in order to give the Clans all the Encouragement in his Power to lift themselves under the same Banners, order'd his Steward to give a Weekly or Monthly Gratitude or Allowance to the Wives and Children of those who would go South to serve the Pretender in his Expedition to *England*.

But however strenuously his Lordship enter'd into the Interest of the Pretender, after the Success the Rebels

Rebels had at the Battle of *Preston Pans*, and that of *Falkirk*, yet when the Pretender first landed in *Scotland*, tho' he sent him Assurances of his firm Attachment to his Cause, and was ready to assist him with all his Power, yet seeing what a slender Force he brought with him, he was a good while irresolute, and wou'd neither send his Son, nor go himself to join him. But upon observing that a great Number of the Clans were got together and had actually join'd him, he then told his Son he should head the Clan and join the Prince. Afterwards, on being inform'd that the King's Forces were coming from *Flanders* in great Numbers, and wou'd soon be an Over-match for the Rebels, he waver'd again, and his Son shou'd not go; but after the Successes of the Rebels at *Preston-Pans* and *Falkirk*, he renew'd his Orders to his Son to prepare and assemble the Clan in order to march with all Expedition: Which continual Fluctuation in his Lordship's Resolutions, occasion'd his Son to burst into Tears, and to say, That he had been made a Fool of from first to last; that one Day he had been doing, and another Day undoing; and declared, that whatever was then agreed to he would execute, let the Consequence be what it would either to himself or others. And it is pretty certain, all Circumstances consider'd, that if Lord *Lovat's* Son had been left to follow the Dictates of his own Inclination, he would have had no Concern in the Rebellion, and that if the Father and Son had acted in Opposition to each other, they would have divided the Clan.

His Lordship having at last resolved to send his Son, at the Head of his Clan, to join the Pretender, he wrote a Letter to the young Chevalier; an Extract of which Letter is as follows.

I Have here sent my eldest Son, the Support of my Family. and the Staff of my old Age, with 800 of the best of my Clan, all heartily devoted to your Interest, and who will be ready to sacrifice their Lives in your Cause. And I assure your Royal Highness, to convince you of my unalterable Attachment to your Person and Interest, that I am determin'd, as soon as possible, to raise more Men for your Service, and will send them to you with all Expedition, properly arm'd and accoutred.

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This Letter was dictated by his Lordship, and sign'd by himself, but wrote by Mr. *Hugh Frazer*, his then Secretary, who proved it at his Trial.

But now we shall return to his Lordship in the Tower, many Reports were spread about of his various Behaviour during his Confinement. Sometimes it was said, he was troubled with Fits, and had frequent Faintings, and other Illnesses upon him : But it is very certain, that his Lordship was in perfect Health all the while he was in the Tower ; that he behav'd himself very well to all the Officers and Attendants ; kept a good Table, was always chearful ; full of his quaint Sayings, and Turns of Wit, and never alter'd his Demeanour from first to last.

On *Thursday* the 11th of *December*, 1746, his Lordship was impeached by the Honourable House of Commons, and on *Thursday* the 18th of the same Month Lord *Lovat* was carried in a Coach under a strong Guard from the Tower to the Bar of the House of Lords, and the Articles of High Treason exhibited against him were read to him : After which being order'd to withdraw, he presented a Petition to the House, praying he might have a Copy of the Articles, which was granted ; and that the Lords would assign him Council, which they did, Mr. *Ford*, Mr. *Gordon*, Mr. *Wilmot* and Mr. *Forrester* ; And also appointed Mr. *Ross*, Mr. *Goostre* and Mr. *Frazer* for his Solicitors.

On *Tuesday* the 13th of *January* he was again brought from the Tower to the Bar of the House of Lords, when he delivered in his Answers to the Articles of Impeachment against him ; in which Answers he denied all the Allegations, and insisted on his Innocence, and then he was ordered back to the Tower.

On *Monday* the 16th of *February* Lord *Lovat* petitioned the House of Lords, that his Trial might be put off for some Time on Account of his Witnesses not being come to Town, when the Lords agreed to put it off to *Thursday* the 5th of *March*.

On *Tuesday*, *March* 3. his Lordship presented a fresh Petition to the House of Peers, setting forth, that two of his principal Evidences could not be in *London* from *Scotland* sooner than *Saturday* or *Sunday* next, praying that
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his Trial might be put off till *Monday March 9*, which their Lordships, after a long Debate, agreed to.

About Ten o'Clock on *Monday, March 9*, his Lordship was carried from the *Tower*, attended by Mr. *Fowler* the Gentleman Goaler, under a strong Guard to *Westminster-Hall*, in Order to take his Trial, which lasted that Day till Six o'Clock in the Evening; after which he was remanded back to the *Tower*, and order'd to be brought up again the next Morning.

Tuesday, March 10, he was again convey'd to *Westminster-Hall*, in order to proceed on his Trial, and on Account of his great Age and Infirmities was indulg'd by the House to sit.

Wednesday, March 11, Lord *Lovat* was again brought from the *Tower* to *Westminster-Hall*, when the Managers proceeded on the Trial. After which, Lord *Lovat* signified that he was very infirm, and had two fainting Fits on *Tuesday* last, and was oblig'd to get up at 3 or 4 o'Clock in the Morning; and therefore desir'd one Day's Respite, which was granted him.

Friday, March 13, his Lordship was again brought from the *Tower* to *Westminster-Hall*; and after the Managers had finish'd the Business of the Day, his Lordship again desired some Respite; otherwise he was in such an ill State of Health, that their Lordships might provide a Funeral for him.

Monday the 16th, he was again brought to the Bar at *Westminster-Hall*, when the Managers for the Crown finished their Part, and desired the Prisoner to proceed in his Evidence; instead of which he moved for 4 or 5 Days Respite; which was granted till *Wednesday the 18th*, when desiring further Time, he was told, he must proceed in his Defence; but having no Witnesses to produce, he was found Guilty of High Treason.

Altho' his Lordship was naturally of a gay and merry Disposition, and always ready to give a jocular Turn to every Accident and Occurrence he met with; yet one wou'd have imagin'd, that when he knew Death was hastening his Approaches to take him into an invisible, unknown World, he wou'd have abated something of his usual Humour, and that the Nearness of his Fate wou'd have occasion'd more serious Impressions upon his Mind.

But no visible Alteration appear'd in his Behaviour, his Discourse and Conversation was as chearful and jocose, after he was inform'd that the Warrant was brought down for his Execution, as it was before, and he declar'd that he was entirely satisfied with his Doom, and thought himself happier in his present Situation, than the greatest Prince in *Europe*.

A Report, it seems, had been spread, that a particular Engine had been made for the taking off his Lordship's Head; which being told him, he was very merry upon it, and said, that the Machine should be called, *Lord Lovat's Maiden*.

He acknowledg'd that he had been concern'd in all the Schemes that had been set on Foot for advancing the Interest, and restoring the Family of *Stuarts*, ever since he was fifteen Years of Age; that he never betray'd the Cause he had once espoused, but was always faithful to his Trust, whether that Trust was of a publick or private Nature; and that no Blood was ever shed by his Hand.

After his Lordship had Notice given him of his Execution, he talk'd pretty much about the Affairs of his Family, and seem'd extremely concern'd for his Son *Simon*, who is now a Prisoner in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, not so much for his Prosperity in this World (which he left entirely to the Disposal of Providence) but for his Religious Principles, and the Welfare of his Soul. And therefore to direct him in that Course of Life which would bring him to eternal Happiness, he wrote him a Letter, full of pious Admonitions and Instructions; wherein he thanks God for the Troubles he had afflicted him with, since they had taken him off from a Course of Sin in which he had continued for many Years, and had led him into a Way of Repentance and Humiliation, and brought him to the Knowledge of his dear Redeemer; exhorts his Son to throw himself before the Cross of *Christ*, who, upon his earnest Prayer, will give him true Repentance, forgive his Sins, and preserve him from the Snares of the World; with many other pious Exhortations; concluding with declaring his Readiness to go to the Block or Scaffold, having good Hopes of everlasting Happiness in the other World, thro' God's Mercy, and the Sufferings of his Saviour Jesus Christ.

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With Regard to his Religion, he profess'd himself a *Roman Catholick*. Being ask'd of what particular Sort of *Catholicks*, and whether he was a *Jesuit*? he answer'd, No; I am a *Jansenist*, a Sect quite opposite to the *Jesuits*; which 'tis suppos'd his Lordship spoke in Banter; for he said, that he often had Disputes with the *Jansenists* about their religious Tenets.

His Lordship declar'd, that he thought himself hardly dealt by; that he shou'd have wanted even the common Necessaries of Life, had it not been for the Assistance of his Cousin Mr. *William Fraser*; but most of all, that he had been convicted on the Evidence of his own Servants.

The Day before his Execution, he spent a considerable Time in his Devotions; after which his usual Gaiety return'd, and he sung a Piece of an old Catch, saying, he was never in a better Humour in all his Life.

Being told of the Bill depending in Parliament, to deprive the Chiefs of the Clans of their antient Prerogatives, he wish'd all those Gentlemen who gave their Vote for it, had the *Skitters*.

He desired that his Body might be carried to *Scotland*, and interr'd in his own Tomb in *Kirk hill Church*; and said, that he had once made it a Part of his Will, that all the Pipers between *Johnie Groats House* and *Edinburgh* should be invited to play at his Funeral; but as he suppos'd that wou'd not be now granted, he was satisfied that a good Number of old Women wou'd sing a *Coronach* before him.

Several other Particulars are related of his facetious and comic Behaviour; but too minute and trifling to trouble the Reader with.

The Day of Execution.

ABOUT three Quarters of an Hour after Ten in the Morning of *Thursday the 9th of April, 1747*, the Sheriffs and Under-Sheriff went to the *Tower Gate*, attended by their Officers, to demand the Body; when they

they came there, they found the Gates shut, upon which one of the Officers knock'd, and a Warder within asking who was there, and what they wanted, was inform'd that the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex* was come for the Body of *Simon Lord Lovat* for Execution; whereupon the Warder acquainted them that he would go and inform the Lieutenant of the *Tower* of their Message; and returned in about 10 Minutes; and Lord *Lovat* being in Governor *Williamson's* Coach, he was help'd out of that into the Sheriffs Mourning Coach, and he was conducted in a Coach to a House near the Scaffold, hung with black Cloth, and illumin'd with Sconces, proper for the Occasion. At first his Lordship's Friends and Relations were denied Admittance; but on his Application to Mr. Sheriff *Alfop*, they were all permitted to come in and see him. Then his Lordship pull'd out a Paper, and gave to one of the Sheriffs, adding, that he shou'd make no Speech, but left them that Paper, which they might dispose of as they thought proper; and that he was now ready to obey their Command. Then, by the Help of the Warders, he kneel'd down, and pray'd by himself; after which being again placed in his Chair, the Sheriff ask'd him if he wou'd refresh himself with a Glas of Wine? His Lordship said, if he did, he must drink warm Water with it, which not being to be had there, he wou'd content himself with a little burnt Brandy and Bitters; of which having taken a Sup, he said to the Sheriff he was ready to go whenever he pleas'd. The Sheriff told him he had half an Hour good yet, and therefore he wou'd not hurry him.

One Thing more his Lordship begg'd of the Sheriff, and that was, that his Head, after it was taken off, might be receiv'd in a Cloth, and put with his Body in the Coffin. Upon which the Sheriff having consulted some Gentlemen present, he concluded, that as it had not been the Practice of late Years to expose the Head, he might safely indulge his Lordship with the same Favour, notwithstanding the Message that was sent him to the contrary; and therefore promis'd his Lordship that his Request should be granted.

As his Lordship was going up the Steps of the Scaffold, seeing the vast Multitudes of People every where round him,

him, *Good lack!* said he, *what a Bustle is here about seeing an old grey Head taken off, that can't help itself up three Steps of the Scaffold, without the Assistance of two Men?*

As he was going up the Steps, observing an old Acquaintance of his very melancholy, he clapp'd him on the Back, and bid him have a good Heart; for said he, *I am not afraid, then why should you?*

After his Lordship was got upon the Stage, the first Thing he enquir'd for, was the Executioner, who being brought before him, and having paid his Respects, his Lordship took a Canvas Purse out of his Pocket, with ten Guineas in it, and gave it to him, bidding him do his Work effectually; for, said he, *if you should cut and mangle my Shoulders, I shall be very angry with you.* His Lordship then desired to see the Axe, which the Executioner excus'd himself from shewing before he had the Sheriff's Permission for that Purpose, which the Sheriff, however, instantly granted; and it being put into his Lordship's Hands, he felt the Edge of it, and said, *he believ'd it wou'd do.* Then, by the Help of the two Warders, who attended him, he got up out of his Chair (which he sat in for the Ease of his Legs) and took a View of his Coffin, on which was wrote the following Inscription, *viz.* SIMON DOMINUS FRASER, DECOLLAT. APRIL 9, 1747, ÆTAT. SUÆ 80.

His Lordship having satisfied his Curiosity, sat down again, repeating the following Line from *Horace*,

Dulce & decorum est pro Patriâ mori.

And the following out of *Ovid*,

Nam Genus & proavos, & quæ non fecimus ipsi, vix ea nostra voco.

His Lordship then desired the Croud to retire from him, when being supported by the two Warders, he pray'd privately; which being done, he call'd Mr. *William Fraser* to him, and gave him his gold-headed Cane, as an Acknowledgment of his faithful Services. Then he took

off

off his Wigg, and his Cap was put on; after which he pull'd off his Cloaths, which, with his Wigg, he gave to Mr. *Frazer*; then he took off his Cravat, and loosen'd the Neck of his Shirt, kneel'd down by the Block, and pull'd the Cloth to him that was to receive his Head. But being told by the Executioner that he was a little too near the Block, he mov'd his Body farther back; which done, he told the Executioner that the Signal for him to do his Office, shou'd be the dropping of his Handkerchief; then he laid his Head down upon the Block, and in about half a Minute, gave the Signal, and his Head was sever'd from his Body at one Blow, and being receiv'd in a Scarlet Cloth, was together with his Body put in a Coffin, and convey'd back in a Hearse to the *Tower*; from whence about 5 o'Clock Mr. *Stephenson*, the Undertaker, took it away, in order to send it to *Scotland*, to be interr'd in his own burying Place.

About an Hour before his Lordship came upon the Scaffold, a very melancholy Accident happen'd upon *Tower-Hill*, where a Scaffold being crowded with People, the Props gave Way, and fell to the Ground; whereby, it is said, seven People were kill'd on the Spot, among whom was the Carpenter who built it, his Wife and Child; and several more have since died of the Wounds which they receiv'd. How careful ought Carpenters to be, in erecting such Places, to build them strong enough for the Purpose, since the Lives of Numbers may depend on the Strength or Weakness of such a Building!

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